233
311
634

Table 13. The Distribution of Stock Units on the Main Reservation in 1962 Compared with the Estimated Carrying Capacity

District	Stock Unit Capacity	Stock Units	Cattle	Horses
Baboquivari	1,780	2,261	1,639	498
Chukut Kuk	1,064	2,440*	1,590	680
Gu Achi	1,000	1,332*	1,000	426
Gu Ve	469	1,085*	610	380
Hickiwan	939	2,062*	1,000	850
Pisinimo	1,003	1,980	1,470	408
Schuk Toak	2,102	1,799*	900	560
Sells	1,067	2,022*	1,210	650
Sif Oidak	880	861	464	318
Totals	10,304	16,070	10,082	4,770

[115] [128] Robert Roether, one of the major cattle buyers on the reservation, is of the opinion that the above estimates are too low for cattle and too high for horses.

233 422 Fully as important as the number of cattle and horses grazed, is their ownership. All cattle on the reservation are owned by Indians and, except for 200 head in a tribal herd, ownership is by individuals and families. [217] No actual records are kept of individual holdings, although the tribal office keeps a record of sales by individuals. The Bureau of Indian Affairs now estimates that at least seven families have from 200 to 600 head of cattle each, that about ten families have 100 to 150 head, and that most families have about ten head or less. The number of individuals and

* Because no livestock count figures are available, these numbers are estimated.

families that hold cattle on the three reservations has been estimated at between 400 and 500. Metzler summarizes the economy of stock raising as follows (Metzler, 1959, p. 57):

> "The function of cattle for most families is the same as that of a reserve account in a bank. The cattle are not sold until other sources of income have been exhausted, then enough cattle are marketed to meet cash needs of the family until other sources of income again become available. When they have no more cattle they will start to sell off their horses."

It should be added that cattle raising is more than merely an economic enterprise. The Papago and their cattle may be compared to the Navajo and their sheep. In both cases a way of life has been developed which becomes relatively meaningless without livestock and the work of caring for animals on the open range in isolated desert areas.

The meaning of stock raising in the total economy of Papago family life can be assessed with fair accuracy because of the records that must be kept in connection with the tribal assessment of a 3 per cent tax on the value of all livestock sold from the reservation. In 1962 the tribe collected a total of $19,631.90 in taxes on a gross Indian income of $654,397 from stock sales. For a number of years sales have totalled about this amount, occasionally running higher. Owning from one to ten head of stock, most families have incomes of less than $400 per year from ranching. Probably no more than 40 families, according to Metzler, depend entirely on cattle sales for their yearly income. In keeping